Introduction

Many historians consider the 'club' to be central to the development of modern sport, emerging from the desire of people to collectivize their leisure experiences whilst binding together a membership by a community of interest.[1] Indeed, this paper will be centrally concerned with the transition from the occasional amusement of football games to a system of organized football clubs playing prearranged, planned and regular matches in Lancashire in the mid-nineteenth century, initiated by the sons of the Lancashire industrial upper middle class.[2] It may, however, be reasonably argued that structural economic and social forces such as industrialization, urbanization and commercialization as well as an emerging industrial class system were also essential to facilitate modern sports development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England. In that case, perhaps, it would then be more prudent to argue that clubs were essential to facilitate the development of modern sport but did not independently create it.[3] Undoubtedly, though, voluntary organisations had been widespread in British society prior to the mid-nineteenth century, especially since the 1780s[4], arguably based upon notions of associativity, that is, the tendency of individuals to create social networks and organisations outside of the family whilst always bearing in mind the aforementioned deep seated structural social forces that, impact on, and influence individuals and their decisions.[5] Certainly, sport can be seen to be but one example of the way leisure in general was being increasingly commercialized in the eighteenth century.[6] Significantly, though, these voluntary organisations had the capacity to write their own rules and oblige members to abide by them,[7] and, centrally, from the Enlightenment onwards, operated independently of the state in England, arguably in contrast to France and Germany where club formation continued to require its explicit or implicit approval.[8]

In the main, in England, clubs were formed during the eighteenth century by the middle and upper classes and surrounded the sports of golf, archery, cricket and horse racing in particular, creating the models along which later modern sports developed, including football in all its various codes. Perhaps, surprisingly, boxing seems to have been the clearest example of the relationship between commercialism and codification of rules in the eighteenth century.[9] Indeed, before the commercialisation of sport in the eighteenth century the idea of commonly agreed, national, written laws governing the playing of sports did not exist.[10] The precise number of clubs and societies in this period is impossible to calculate but it has been suggested that 'there may have been up to 25,000 different clubs and societies meeting in the English-speaking world', with over 130 different types of society operating in the British Isles during the eighteenth century.[11] Football clubs in the north of England, in the main, emerged somewhat later in the mid-nineteenth century and this article will attempt to detail and describe some of those clubs in Lancashire between 1857-70, in spite of the tendency to leave the study of the basic units of sport organization, the clubs, to the antiquarians, perhaps fearing a charge of antiquarianism itself.[12] The paper then aims to add to the notable exceptions to this tendency, swelling the paucity of good historical material about the organization of sport at levels below national bodies.[13]

Prior to club formations in the mid nineteenth century, football was still overwhelmingly played, outside of the Public and Grammar Schools, in teams established for a particular match or couple of matches, which were then disbanded and disappeared.[14] Despite this, there was a much broader and more tenacious football culture extant than many historians originally thought between 1830

and 1860, evidence of which has been outlined in a number of articles in the so-called 'origins of football debate'.[15] The fact, though, that teams were formed then disbanded for individual matches may help explain Adrian Harvey's notes with regard to Yorkshire and Lancashire that they contained '55 per cent of Britain's teams in the 1840s', although by the 1850s 'Lancashire had just one team, Liverpool FC, a team assembled by Old Rugbeians'.[16] Indeed, it is important to note that in the 1840s sides were indeed 'teams', formed for a particular game and then disbanded, but Liverpool was a 'football club', probably the first of its kind in Lancashire although other 'teams', unbeknown to Harvey, were also playing in Liverpool in the 1850s, as will be evidenced below.

Football in Lancashire and Yorkshire

Given the topic of this article, Dave Russell's seminal paper, penned in 1988, entitled 'Sporadic and Curious: The Emergence of Rugby & Football Zones in Lancashire & Yorkshire, 1860-1914' and published in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* is pertinent.[17] It must be noted though that, despite the dates outlined by Russell, his paper actually covers Association football clubs from 1874 onwards in Lancashire after the adoption of the Association Code by Turton Football Club in that year. This paper addresses Football Club formation in Lancashire in the earlier period of 1857-1870 when the game was played under a variety of rules, none seemingly having involved the Association code, despite its launch in Southern England in 1863. Furthermore, Russell's excellent analysis does not satisfactorily answer the interesting question asked recently by Tony Collins in his article 'Early Football and the Emergence of Modern Soccer',[18] as to why rugby was more popular than soccer in many areas, especially in Yorkshire 'where it kept the Sheffield game confined to its eponymous city and hinterland'.[19] Certainly, Yorkshire's circumstances seem to have been somewhat different to those prevailing across the Pennines in the cotton spinning and manufacturing districts of Lancashire, although rugby 'towered over soccer'[20] in both counties in the early 1870s, and certainly over any association-type form of football in the 1860s. It was only in the mid-1870s that the Association game started to make big inroads into the existing football world, particularly in Lancashire, where the game

> … prospered beyond expectations …, but as a matter of fact, its operations are confined to one portion of the palatinate only, viz., the eastern section. Here in the space of two or three years the Association game has become wonderfully popular, and the forming of such an organisation as the Lancashire Football Association has done still more to make this really fascinating and scientific game a success in the county. In real work and organisation the Associationists are greatly in advance of the Rugby Unionists, as anyone acquainted with the working of representatives of both codes will readily admit. [21]

Despite this, rugby remained the more popular form of football in Lancashire in the 1860s and early 1870s, its main bastion, undoubtedly, being the Manchester Club and, to a lesser extent, Liverpool. Certainly, the early County matches of rugby football from 1870-1881 were 'vested solely in the hands of the committee of the Manchester Football Club who constituted themselves the recognised authorities for the selection of players, etc.', although there appeared to have been a mutual arrangement with Liverpool.[22] Arguably, this tight control over the rugby world, west of the Pennines, by an elite social grouping, may go some way to partially help explain the inability of rugby to ultimately withstand the pressure from the 'Associationists' in the embryonic but expanding association football culture in Lancashire of the mid-1870s. Significantly, the 'Associationists' were

part of an emerging lower middle class who had the skills needed to form, administer and develop association football clubs in the Lancashire cotton towns and it was their growth and use of their social and cultural capital that underpinned the formation of modern association football clubs in south and east Lancashire.[23] Enveloping all of this was a background of increasing industrialization, urbanization, suburbanization and commercialization, although the lower middle class and working classes had to wait until the last quarter of the nineteenth century to see the real contribution of industrialization to come into effect in their living standards with increased incomes and leisure time brought about by increased productivity, despite some precursors in particular trades. For them this was a product of the late rather than even the mid-nineteenth century and certainly not before then.[24] Increased productivity enabled employers to concede to demands to lessen the working week for their labour force and to pay them higher wages with the consequences of first creating a mass market for spectator sport by setting Saturday afternoons free of work, and second, for those who preferred to be active rather than watch others play, the increase in disposable income allowing individuals to join clubs and be able to purchase sporting equipment. Concomitantly, middle-class attitudes towards sport seemingly changed, accepting, if appropriately controlled, it could be a force for good in creating healthier citizens, rejuvenating labour and building character. The previously held view of the majority of the middle classes that sport was an economic vice was transformed with them now seeing it as an economic virtue.[25]

It may be, however, that similar causal elements existed in both Lancashire and Yorkshire but may have interacted with each other, and with still other elements, in such a way as to produce very different results in terms of footballing preferences.[26] These causal elements surely include increasing economic and social stability, a developing northern identity and increasingly stable communities in towns and cities, an expanding transport system, rising levels of income and an increased standard of living, the spatial development of better working conditions including the Saturday afternoon half-day holiday, improvements in public health, the rise of commercialism, the 1870 Education Act, the growth in civic pride, factory and time discipline, the rise of mass circulation newspapers within south and east Lancashire and west Yorkshire and a rising population together with increasing urbanisation, suburbanisation and industrialisation alongside a developing and hardening industrial class system.[27] Alternatively, it may well be that the West Riding of Yorkshire, although being geographically contiguous with East Lancashire, was separated from it by variations in cultural structures and values and a variety of demographic, economic, political and religious forces. Furthermore, it is also physically separated from the Red Rose County by the substantial barrier of the Pennines which, acting alongside other long standing economic, political and social determinants, would have made a huge regional divergence as it also did to variations in the spatial distribution of individuals and institutions whose attitude to sport had been moulded by differing exposures to the public school games ethic, as well as to local indigenous variants of football.[28] It may be, however, that similar processes to those found in Lancashire were enacted in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but this time in reverse, with an elite social grouping maintaining control of the Association game in its hinterland in Sheffield. This, then, might also help illuminate the inability of the Association game to significantly break out from its predominantly amateur roots in that Yorkshire base until around the 1890s. Conversely in Lancashire, an elite social grouping took tight hold of Rugby football while an expanding lower middle class used their developing economic, social and political capital to rapidly progress the Association game across the county from the mid-1870s onwards.[29]

Club Football in Lancashire: Liverpool

Club football first came to Lancashire in November 1857 after Frank Albert Mather, of Bootle Hall, Liverpool, wrote to other ex-Public school boys in the North of England to invite them to a rugby match that was to take place at Edge Hill in Liverpool.[30] Mather was an old boy of Rugby school, although he was still only nineteen years old, and included in the list of putative participants was his friend, Richard Sykes from Manchester, who was asked to supply the type of football used in the game at Rugby. Fortunately, Sykes was still at school there and, interestingly it is claimed, 'no one in the North knew how to make them'.[31] Perhaps this, in itself, is an indication of the sort of small-sided games of football that would have been being played amongst ordinary working class people of the day using a round ball? Indeed, the balls for Rugby football were supplied by Richard Lindon, a boot and shoe maker, whose shop was 'immediately opposite the Quad of the Rugby school'.[32] Unfortunately, though, 'as notice was short and there being no stock of best footballs' Sykes secured one that had been used in a Bigside match at Rugby and was still in good repair.[33] Apparently, the game was a very pleasant one and was played on the 19th of December, 1857, with 50 players attending from the 'chief families of Liverpool, and represented the leading Public Schools in England',[34] the match being advertised as 'Rugby versus the World', probably because there were more Rugbeians present than representatives of any other public school.[35] The social status of those attending the game is indicated with the presence of the Gladstone family, who were also known for their exceptional height with at least two family members, subsequently, playing for Liverpool Football Club. Time was taken, though, to explain the rules to those players present who were not old Rugbeians and although five goals were said to have been scored we do not know who scored them or what the result was. However, it has been claimed 'that the important decision was that the player's verdict on the game was favourable and that the Liverpool Football Club was there and then formed'.[36] This was certainly one of the first football club's to have been formed in the north-west of England in the mid-nineteenth century although its exact date of formation is unknown.[37] In the light of this, it may be surprising to find that the 'gentlemen' of Liverpool were actually playing football matches before the reported 'Rugby' game. In the previous month to that particular match the *Liverpool Post* reported that

> On Saturday a football match was played at Highfield between twenty-two of Liverpool and twenty-two of Rock Ferry. Both sides played remarkably well. The gentlemen on the Liverpool side who distinguished themselves were Messrs. Fraser, Serjeantson, and Watson; and on the side of their opponents were Messr. Bright, Jellicoe, and Mather, It was a drawn match, both sides kicking two bases.[38]

It is noteworthy that 'kicking two bases' indicates this match was probably played to Harrow rules rather than those of Rugby football. Furthermore, it is also notable that Liverpool's opponent, the Rock Ferry Football Club, was one that met 'every Saturday afternoon at half-past two for play. Gentlemen wishing to join are requested to send their names to the secretary, at the Rock Ferry Hotel.'[39] It may also be worthwhile to keep in mind the names 'Serjeantson' and 'Maher' from the two teams above as these families played significant roles in the establishment and development of Liverpool Football Club. So, it is clearly the case from the above evidence that Liverpool was not alone as a 'football club' in the area in this period and, to be sure we are talking about the same Liverpool Club that played the 'Rugby v World' game, the Rock Ferry notice of a return match on 'Saturday, the 5Th instant' noted that it will be 'played … on their ground at Edge-hill'.[40] Rock Ferry

also supplied the Cheshire County Union with players in 1876 when J.B. Parry and E.C. Kendall represented them in a match against Liverpool at Edge Hill on the 25th of February of that year.[41]

It was also at the Rock Ferry Hotel, in the same year, that boys from the Reformatory ship Akbar, 'numbering upward of a hundred', were invited to 'a field in the neighbourhood'… 'and for more than two hours enjoyed themselves in playing at cricket, football, and other invigorating games'.[42] This indicates that other forms of football were being played amongst other social classes in this period although not as a 'club'. Indeed, in a report about Christmas festivities at Kirkdale 'the great industrial school of Liverpool' whose 'inmates consist entirely of pauper children. In numbers they are between 900 and 1000' it was reported that when visitors 'passed the boys' yard. Football, gymnastics, and running races were here the order of the day'.[43] Furthermore, ordinary schools, like St. Paul's at Princes Park, Liverpool, also saw 'six hundred children' gather 'in procession through the district. It was intended that they go to a field near the Dingle, and play at football and other games; the wet weather, however, prevented this being carried out'.[44] Certainly, then, differing forms of football were prevalent in Liverpool in the late 1850s.

At the other end of the social scale from the Industrial school, the Collegiate Institution, the local fee-paying school for boys of middle-class parents, also played a form of the game, evidenced when they paid for an advertisement in the *Liverpool Post* which read

> Wanted immediately, for the winter season, a FIELD, to play Football in. Must be within a mile of the Collegiate Institution. – Address, stating terms, R. M'D., Collegiate Institution.[45]

It seems this advertisement, placed by the head boy Robert McDowell, paid dividends for the boys of the lower school as they played

> 'the first game of football … in a spacious field in Breck-road, the use of which had been most generously given them by J. Longton, Esq., of Richmond-terrace, and the Messrs. Malone, of Salisbury-street'.[46]

This meant they were now on an equal footing with boys of the upper school, who had 'had a cricket-club, which, during the winter months, has merged into a football club, presided over by their principal, the Rev. J.S. Howson.'.[47] Notably, Howson was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, obtaining a B.A. in 1837, M.A. in 1841 and D.D. in 1861[48] and was principal of the Collegiate Institution between 1849 until 1861. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume the college would have played some form of Cambridge rules football which had been formulated in 1848.[49]

Undoubtedly then, differing social classes were playing differing varieties of football in the mid-to-late 1850s in Liverpool but, significantly, only one social grouping went on to form a permanent 'club', the upper middle-class. Furthermore, the Maher's of Bootle were part of that upper middle-class and prime movers in the establishment of the Liverpool Football club which played to rugby rules from 1857 onwards, the young Frank Maher acting as its Secretary. His sobriquet had been 'Dark Joe' at Rugby where he was in the same house as Richard Sykes, Manchester Rugby Club's founder, though a year older.[50] Frank was the third son of John Phillips Maher of Bootle Hall who was described as an 'Iron Merchant' in the 1861 Census,[51] his social standing being indicated by six house servants living in at his home at Bootle Hall at the time of the Census, alongside seven of his own children as well as his wife Elizabeth. Indeed, it seems many of the football players were from

the emerging Industrial/Merchant upper middle-class, several having attended Rugby including Frank Maher's younger brother, Arthur Stanley or 'Smut', who was only 15 when 'Rugby played the World' and with only two terms at Rugby behind him, he was probably one of the youngest players at Edge Hill on the day.[52] Importantly, this was a time of greater economic security for the upper middle classes and the disquieting fluctuations that had characterised the economy across previous decades had levelled out and they could afford to rest on 'a comfortable plateau of prosperity accompanied by wives whose domestic duties were taken care of by a growing army of servants',[53] as seen in the Maher household.

Playing sport was obviously central to the development of Liverpool football club, a purely instrumental function, but the expressive function may have been to cement together the membership via social capital creation, thereby reinforcing a sense of identity and enhancement of status.[54] Indeed, instrumental associations are specifically organised to cope with the external environment and to affect some kind of change, being goal-oriented organizations. Expressive associations are organized more for purposes of socialization and personality integration, basically nurturing and accommodative in character. Many voluntary organizations are simultaneously instrumental and expressive and a club like Liverpool would clearly qualify as a voluntary association, operating in both modes, fulfilling a number of important functions.[55] However, no commercial or profit making motive seems to have been involved in Liverpool Football Club's formation in stark contrast to Tony Collin's claims about club formation in the eighteenth century which he considers 'emerged mainly after the commercialisation of sport' with modern sport being 'capitalism at play'.[56] Indeed, Wray Vamplew has suggested three levels of associativity as analytical categories with which to analyse and understand club formation.[57] First, drawing upon Hardy's work about instrumentality, members of a club have to have the simple desire to participate in sport. The second level of associativity is based on the feeling of community or group solidarity that it offered, examples being workplace, faith-based, drink-based or politically based clubs. The third level of associativity, considered to be a subsector of the second, are clubs that are based on an education group, such as school sport club, former pupils clubs, university clubs or on their location such as the neighbourhood.[58] Liverpool Football Club seems to cut across these typologies with elements of instrumentality alongside common educational and University backgrounds, as well as other features including class, status and politics - the class element being particularly notable with its absence in the typologies of associativity presented. The players and administrators of Liverpool Football Club were part of the upper middle class and either former pupils of Rugby school or other public schools and, centrally, their sense of identity would be reinforced by their geographic location. Liverpool Football Club was then, undoubtedly, established, by and for, individuals of a particular social class, the upper middle, based upon their economic, cultural and social capital.[59] The establishment of a club reinforced the awareness of the middle-class in a collective class participation which helped to make middle-class leisure self-validating.[60] No effort seems to have been made, however, to diffuse rugby football to the working classes in this period either through the influence of cultural emulation or the proselytising endeavours of Liverpool's former public schoolboys.[61]

A further example of the type of person and family who made substantive contributions to the formation and establishment of Liverpool Football Club was Peter Bell Serjeantson, a contemporary of Frank Mather at Rugby, who also played in the 'Rugby versus the World game', reputedly 'taking

the most active part in the trial'.[62] He was the son of Peter Serjeantson who, in 1830, had entered into partnership with T.S. Gladstone, the uncle of the future Prime Minister, and who was, later, President of the Liverpool Cotton Broker's Association. Peter Bell Serjeantson's older brother, William Francis Serjeantson, went on to become captain of the Football Club in 1862-3 and, after giving up the captaincy in 1870, was elected President of the Club and continued in that office until 1876.[63] Other leading players and officials, listed by Daglish, all come from a similar class and educational background up until 1871 and the formation of the Rugby Football Union.[64] Indeed, Rugby's popularity in the North had, it seems, increased the previous year, coalescing in a match between teams from Lancashire and Yorkshire for the first time at Leeds.[65] It was, however, the Manchester Club, in agreement with Liverpool, who undertook to make arrangements for this match and this continued to be the situation until the County Union was established in 1881.[66]

Manchester

As noted earlier the Manchester Club was formed, primarily, by Richard Sykes. He had been born on the 11th of May, 1839, and was the fourth son of Richard Sykes Snr. and his wife, Jane Hardcastle from Bolton, at Edgeley House in Stockport, Cheshire. Significantly, his parents were owners of the Sykes Bleaching Company, one of the leading bleaching enterprises in the United Kingdom with the 1861 Census listing Sykes snr. as being a 'bleacher employing 126 men, 64 boys, 29 women and 33 girls, 252 in total'.[67] An indication of Sykes senior's social standing is evident in the list of people, not counting his immediate family, present on the night of the Census at his home in Edgeley House; Maria Lees - cook, Betty Nelson and Margaret Pickford - housemaids, Martha Darwent – kitchen maid, and Thomas Pearson - Butler.[68] Richard Sykes jnr. was obviously born into the privilege of a newly emerging, competitive and entrepreneurial industrial/merchant upper middle-class, a class who constituted the new and powerful social elite in Lancashire espousing a new and distinctive ideology based on competitive individualism, laissez-faire, free trade and the dismantling of aristocratic privileges. Manchester, after all was the home of the Anti-Corn Law league and the factory masters of Manchester's hinterland, including Stockport, comprised many of the most blunt, forthright and outspoken advocates of the new industrial order.[69]

After taking part in the Liverpool match Richard Sykes jnr. was, subsequently, 'sometime in 1860', invited to play in a trial on a field adjoining the Western Cricket Ground at which Howard Aston, late of Cheltenham College, and Tom White of the 84th Regiment, another old Rugbean, 'were prominent'.[70] After this game, Sykes went on to form the Manchester Club and then, subsequently, captain it up to 1868[71] with matches being held on Whalley Range, mainly between members of the club but also 'against Liverpool and The Academicals of Glasgow or Edinburgh'. Sykes also recollected a game against Sheffield although he seemed to think that 'the Harrow Association Game' was attempted on that occasion.[72] Owing to the lack of opposition, though, matches were limited in the early years of the club to only two or three a year.[73] Sykes was eventually replaced in 1868 by William Maclaren whose brother, James Maclaren, was a founder member of the Manchester Club and who went on to become sixth President of the Rugby Football Union in 1882, all being part of Manchester's powerful merchant class. In his recollections of founder members,[74] Sykes also names William Grave, the second son of Alderman John Grave, ex-Mayor of Manchester,[75] as 'a back who scarcely, if ever made a mistake'. In addition, there was Herbert Greg, who joined in 1864, who was an old Rugbean, as was 'Campbell, Jessop Hulton, both good forwards,

the three Walkers viz. Barret, Fletcher, Joynson' while 'William and Harry Langton and J.W. (or W.E.) Cooke' were 'representatives of Harrow' and 'James Turner an Old Etonian'.[76] The social class of the founder members of the Manchester Football club was entirely consistent with those at the Liverpool club, namely the upper middle class, and again, it was formed, like Liverpool, as a voluntary organisation that functioned at an instrumental and expressive level. Indeed, it may well be that 'sports clubs, as one type of voluntary association, became one of the basic means by which certain groups sought to establish sub-communities within larger society' and that 'like-minded men found in voluntary organizations a milieu in which they could counter the impersonality of the bourgeoning cities'.[77]

Notably, Manchester, at this time, was in the traditional county of Lancashire and 'Cottonopolis' was the nominal centre of the Lancashire cotton district, although it may be that its more varied economy, its cultural makeup and areas of increased deprivation make it untypical of Lancashire in this period, in similar fashion to Liverpool.[78] Indeed, the sheer size of the two cities made them atypical of the region as a whole. In this way, Manchester did not appear to have the same interrelated cultural and social connections that the more closely linked textile towns of east Lancashire did, although parts of the city were rather similar to these communities. This could help partially explain why Manchester's rugby football traditions carried on for as long as they did, before they too were overwhelmed by the spread of Association football proper from east Lancashire in the late 1880s and early 1890s.[79] It may, therefore, be noteworthy that the first two clubs in Lancashire were formed in the two largest conurbations in the county, Manchester and Liverpool, increasing urbanization arguably being a causal factor of club formation, not in a simple direct sense but as part of the complex meaning of sport for inhabitants of a changing order both spatially and as part of an emerging and increasingly stratified industrial class structure. These upper middle class men were obviously indulging in a structured rule bound contest between more or less equally matched opponents, both in number and social status, in a largely physical activity that had little or no connection to 'real life' endeavours. They were playing at sport, a 'voluntary activity' that occurred within 'fixed limits of time and place according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding'.[80] Indeed, Lancashire's upper middle class involvement in football resonates with Thorstein Veblen's view on sport as an example of a predatory activity with a semblance of purposefulness, which conserves barbarian traits such as ferocity and astuteness, while satisfying the leisure class norm of futility.[81] Furthermore, Veblen considers that in

> popular apprehension there is much that is admirable in the type of manhood which the life of sport fosters. There is self-reliance and good-fellowship, so termed in the somewhat loose colloquial use of the words… The reason for the current approval and admiration of these manly qualities, as well as for their being called manly, is the same reason for their usefulness to the individual. The members of the community, and especially that class of community which sets the pace in canons of taste, are endowed with this range of propensities in sufficient measure to make their absence in others felt as a shortcoming, and to make their possession in an exceptional degree appreciated as an attribute of superior merit.[82]

The sons of Lancashire's wealthy Cotton Merchants and Manufacturers were a new addition to, and important part of, Lancashire's emerging leisure class and delineated themselves as such by establishing clubs, admission to which was controlled by their particular social class in an act of

conspicuous consumption and social exclusivity.[83] Indeed, one of Manchester's outstanding players, Albert Neilson Hornby, is almost an 'ideal type' of the 'manly' sportsman of this kind who consumed sport so conspicuously he hardly had time for anything else, as will be outlined below.

Sale

Manchester seems then, in the 1860s, to have become the catalyst for the diffusion of rugby football, as well as diffusing the idea of 'football club' formation, to other places contiguous to the great city although Mancunians were not averse to playing football to other rules as well.[84] Indeed, both 'diffusions' seems to have followed the classic theory of the diffusion of innovations as proposed by Everett M. Rogers and supported by John Bale's geographical analysis of sporting innovations, in which Rogers notes that 'diffusion is the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social order'. Furthermore, as Bale states, all sports possess a prototype and a point of origin which can be located in both time and space and, from this point of origin, rugby football spread outwards from its source area. Following this diffusion process, rugby football underwent a process of geographical organisation which necessitated considerable interaction between places, Manchester seemingly controlling events. Communication channels are essential for the spread of innovations with the transfer of ideas happening most frequently between individuals and groups that are similar or from similar backgrounds – in this case the upper middle-class. Opinion leaders and change agents are important, being individuals who can react to change, have some status in the community, can perceive advantages in innovations, adopt them and then influence others.[85]

Sale in Cheshire, close to Manchester, seems to have been the first point of diffusion from 'Cottonopolis' when a football club was established in 1861 by some members of Sale Cricket Club.[86] The football team originally played their game 'repeatedly on the ground of the Sale Cricket Club' although 'there had hitherto been no organised Football Club further than the election of a secretary in Mr. A. Ollivant' according to the 1865-6 Football Club report.[87] Alfred Ollivant was, like the founders of Liverpool and Manchester Football Clubs, part of the Manchester 'Merchant class' following his father, George Bent Ollivant.[88] In similar fashion to A.N. Hornby who will be considered below, Alfred also played cricket for Sale as well as Lancashire, participating in his first match for the 'Gentlemen of Lancashire' on the 12th and 13th of July 1869, at Warwick, against the 'Gentlemen of Warwickshire', scoring 3 and 11. In the same fixture the following year he made a pair, and in 1871 he made 28 in his only innings. On the 22nd and 23rd of July 1872, at Old Trafford, against the Free Foresters he again made a duck. On the 27th and 28th of June 1873 he opened the innings for the 'Gentlemen of Lancashire' against the 'Gentlemen of Cheshire', at Old Trafford, scoring only 1. Nevertheless, on the 21st and 22nd of July he played for Lancashire against Derbyshire at Derby, batting at second wicket down, and scoring 5 in his only innings. His second and final match for the county was at Old Trafford, on the 5th and 6th of June the following year, against Derbyshire, when he made 6 and 24 not out.[89] The 1881 Census shows him living at Langham Road, in Bowden, Cheshire, aged 38, being described as a 'Merchant' who had been born at Old Trafford, Manchester. He was living with his wife Sarah, aged 32, two daughters, Mary B. aged 5 and Amelia aged six months, and his son George B. aged 3 having been born at Cheetham Hill in Manchester. Living with them at the time of the census were one 'general servant' and another 'general Servant' acting as a 'Nurse'.[90]

According to the 1865-66 Sale Football Club report, 'on Saturday October 14th 1865 a meeting was held in the Drillroom for the purpose of considering the formation of the Club for the present year' and 'Mr. C.G. Mattinson was called to the Chair'.[91] George Charles Mattinson's 'Rank, Profession or Occupation' is described in the 1861 Census as a 'Gentleman', visiting at the time 'Margaret Mary Newton, Proprietor of Land and Houses' in the Isle of Man.[92] He was further described as a 'Manufacturing Chemist' in both the 1871 and 1881 Census returns.[93] Alongside Mattinson, at that meeting, were Thomas C. and George Jones, two of the sons of 'Thomas Jones, Merchant of Ashton upon Mersey, Cheshire',[94] as well as the Butterfield brothers, Edward Alfred, Herbert and Joshua. They were the three sons of William and Anne Butterfield, the former being described as a 'Merchant, Manchester' in the 1861 Census in which two house servants and a groom were listed as living with them.[95] Others on the committee included Robert Turner, the son of Thomas B. Turner a 'Colonial Produce Commission Agent',[96] and two additional members who have proved elusive to identify - Murray and G. Pigott. In all, 54 members attended the meeting and, interestingly, the committee members altered a few rules which 'the secretary afterwards revised… comparing them with laws adopted by other Clubs & submitted a copy to each of the committee individually, who were unanimous in adopting them for the club.'[97] Four matches are recorded as being played, two against Bowden Football Club, one versus Hulme Athenaeum and one against Longsight.[98] 'By 1867-8 their membership had risen to over sixty and matches were being played against Bowden, Longsight, Didsbury and Manchester Athletic Club where the result was a draw although Sale played under the disadvantage of having fourteen against their nineteen'.[99]

A. N. Hornby and Conspicuous Consumption

Albert Neilson Hornby had been born on 19 February 1847 in Blackburn, Lancashire, the sixth of seven sons and four daughters of William Henry Hornby, M.P. for Blackburn 1857-69, the First Mayor of Blackburn, the founder of W.H. Hornby & Co., cotton spinners and manufacturers, of Blackburn, and Director of the Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway. He was educated at Harrow School, at which time he weighed less than 6 stone, and his wiry, agile physique together with his long arms and a relatively small frame, alongside boundless energy, led to him to gain the sobriquet 'Monkey'. After a brief encounter with Oxford University, in 1865, he joined the prosperous family cotton business and, as a rich man, was able to devote his life to cricket and other sports, including rugby and association football. Significantly, he was the one who completed the family transition from mill owners in Blackburn, in East Lancashire, to the leisured Cheshire County gentry.[100] Indeed, Lancashire Cricket Club noted about him that

> the family business in Blackburn was relieved that he did not remain there as he had no head for business and it is certainly true that his natural management style was outdated in industry, even in the 1870s. Like a number of young men from well-to-do families he found a place on the sporting field in which he could use his ability and expend his energy without causing any damage to the family business.[101]

Hornby moved away from his native Lancashire in 1861 to rural Nantwich in Cheshire, where he lived for the rest of his life, and became renowned as an all-round sportsman, riding to the hounds from an early age and keeping a stable of up to a dozen horses in Cheshire, three for his wife and the rest for himself. Reputedly, he was a fearless rider and in one season three of his horses were killed

under him. Unfortunately, this sport was also his undoing as he died in 1925 after complications from internal problems caused from a horse falling and rolling over on him in a previous year.[102] It is said, though, that riding 'The Hunt' was his favourite sport, even sacrificing a tenth rugby cap for England against Scotland because it interfered with this particular love. He also a useful boxer and at the old fairs in Blackburn he took on, in the boxing booths, all the 'professional bruisers to the great delight of the townspeople'.[103] He even mixed with professionals on occasion, even sparring with the legendary boxer Gypsy Jem Mace, the first Heavyweight Champion of the World and the last of the great bare-knuckle fighters.[104] On the football field he played initially for Brookhouse (a team formed from the Hornby group of mills in Blackburn)[105] to the Harrow rules which he gave up in favour of Rugby rules to play for Preston Grasshoppers and then, subsequently, the Manchester Football Club. In a letter dated the 7th of October, 1911, Herbert Greg says about Hornby that he joined Manchester Football Club 'about 1869 on leaving Harrow and declared at once that the Harrow game was rotten compared with rugby'.[106] At rugby football he went on to be capped by England nine times between 1877 and 1882, being captain in his last year. He later refereed at rugby and was a member of the Rugby Union Committee. At association football he played for Blackburn Rovers and later became President of the Lancashire Football Association.

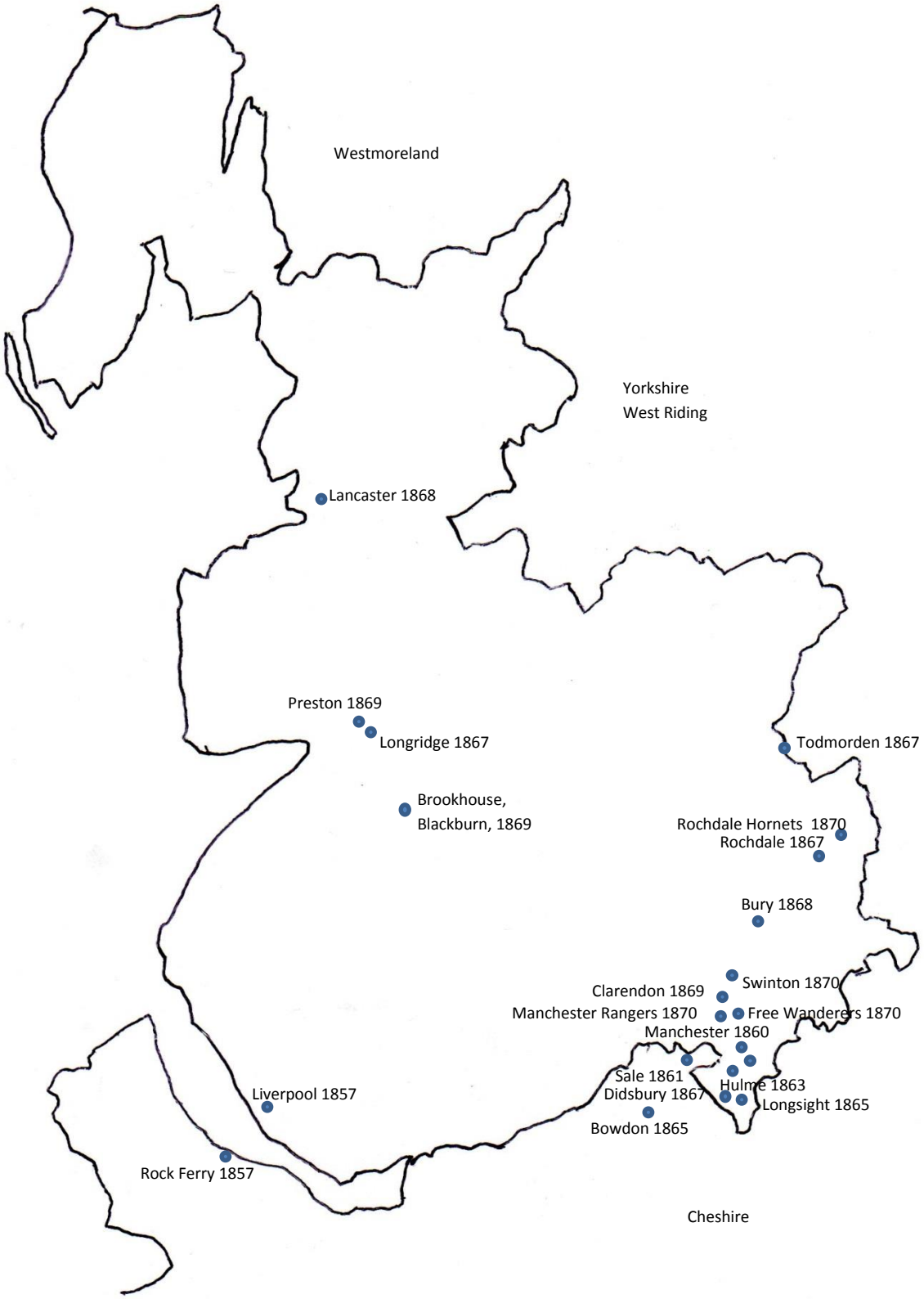
At cricket, the sport in which he truly excelled, he played at club level with the East Lancashire Club in Blackburn and then was selected to play for Lancashire, his first match being in 1867 against Yorkshire at Whalley. In 1879 Hornby became Lancashire captain, succeeding fellow opening partner Richard Barlow, and holding the position for 12 years. His partnership with Barlow was legendary, providing an ideal attacking foil to Barlow's careful defence, being immortalized in one of the best known of all cricket poems, *At Lord's* by Francis Thompson, which contains the line 'O my Hornby and my Barlow long ago!'. In 1881 he became the first Lancashire batsman to score 1000 runs in the season and at the age of 50, in 1897, he returned as Captain of Lancashire and led them to their first outright Championship since 1881. He became President of the club in 1894 and continued in that office until 1916, regularly attending matches at Old Trafford right up till his death in 1925. His portrait hangs in the long-room at Old Trafford.[107] In his obituary the *Lancashire Evening Post* said of him that 'in every respect Hornby may be regarded as one of the greatest figures in the Victorian era of sport'.[108] Clearly, Hornby was a near caricature of Veblen's leisure class and a virtual architype with regard to Veblen's ideas about the conspicuous consumption of sport.

Conclusion

Football club formation came to Lancashire in the late 1850s and early 1860s led by young men of an emerging Lancashire leisured elite who all were part of the same social class. This leisure class was, in the main, the public school educated sons of the northern county's commercial and industrial elite who came to personify Veblen's notion of the modern survival of prowess[109] in the 1850s and 60s. Hence, this explains the ease with which they took to playing all forms of sports, and football in particular, by using their newly acquired status as members of that class. It also helps explain why they involved themselves in the formation of football clubs in Lancashire from the late 1850s onwards and although the case studies presented only involve Liverpool, Manchester and Sale other similar examples such as Lancaster, Preston Grasshoppers and Rochdale exhibited similar patterns but have had to be excluded due to word limitations. However, the young men who founded all these clubs were a central part of the industrial and commercial community which had accumulated

sufficient wealth, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, to exempt a considerable part of their population from work, both at weekends and during the normal working week. Indeed, if the first quarter of the nineteenth century saw the making of the working class, the second quarter may fairly be judged to have seen the making of the northern employer class[110] who then had sufficient funds to send their sons to any of the public schools in England. These sons, subsequently, became the backbone of the Lancashire leisure class. Furthermore, this sporting elite then became the conspicuous consumers of leisure and sport as part of an effort to gain the esteem of others in order to maintain their newly acquired wealth and power. This effort ultimately failed as the industrial class structure altered in such a way, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to enable the rise of the lower middle-class who had the necessary social and cultural capital derived from their occupations to form, develop and administer football clubs and leagues.[111]

The overall argument in this paper about club formation and the rise of the Lancashire leisure class, seemingly, chimes with the established paradigm that modern football was the product of British public schools with public school 'missionaries' teaching the game to the working classes.[112] In previous papers, however, it has been my contention that these public schoolboys had no need to instruct the working classes about football as there was still a broad and tenacious footballing culture extant in mid-century as other forms of football were still being played within the general population, many being taught variations of the game in other schools[113] besides public ones. Centrally, these games were recorded in the popular press of the day as 'football' or 'foot-ball' and not 'kickabouts' or an 'informal leisure practice or folk custom' as described by some historians.[114] However, it seems, from the above evidence in this paper, that the founders of football clubs in Lancashire were a socially exclusive group with no desire to participate in tutoring or educating the working class in football or anything else, although, as these clubs developed, they played to a variety of rules mirroring the adaptability of the general populace to play by agreed rules on the day, seemingly as an ongoing part of the overall football culture of the period. Indeed, as one commentator has put it to would have been no big deal[115] although no record of any set rules that were adhered to, outside of the known codified ones, seems to exist.[116] Overall, the mid-century rise of the Lancashire leisure class and their socially exclusive control of football clubs in that period, all of which subsequently morphed into rugby clubs or disappeared, enabled Association football, introduced into the North-West of England by the lower middle-class,[117] to thrive in the mid-1870s particularly in the Bolton, Darwen and Blackburn triangle,[118] and later, easily mutate into the professional game.[119] This will be the subject of a subsequent paper.



Football Clubs in Lancashire 1860-1870

[1] See Wray Vamplew, 'Playing together: towards a theory of the British Sports club in history', *Sport in Society,* Vol.19, No.1, (2015), 455-469. Indeed, Steven A. Reiss in 'Associativity and the Evolution of Modern Sport', *Journal of Sport History,* Vol.35 No.1, 34, (2008), 33- 38, argues that 'All historians accept the proposition that a fundamental unit of modern sport is the club and that these associations developed autonomously in Britain during the eighteenth century following the retreat of the state from the control of associative activities'.
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[2] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study in the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 196. Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915,* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1980), Chapter 2 is entitled 'The Clubs' but fails to deal with Lancashire Clubs prior to 1874 as they were not 'Association' clubs. For Leisure class see Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions,* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1994), 162. Originally published in 1899.

[3] Reiss, Associativity, 35.

[4] Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850,* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 204.

[5]. People, in one sense, do not create society for it always pre-exists them and is a necessary condition of their activity. Rather society must be represented as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. Society does not exist independently of human activity (the error of reification). But it is not the product of it (the error of voluntarism).

[6] Tony Collins, *Sport in a Capitalist Society,* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 5

[7] Stefan Szymanski, 'A Theory of the Evolution of Modern Sport', *Journal of Sport History,* Vol. 35 No.1, (2008), 1-32.

[8] Ibid, 1-32. Critics of Symanski question his reliance on the work of Jurgen Habermas – see Reiss, Associativity.

[9] Collins, *Sport,* 8-9.

[10] Ibid, 6.

[11] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.

[12] Malcolm MacLean, 'Evolving Modern Sport', *Journal of Sport History,* Vol. 35 No.1 (2008), 49.

[13] Ibid. Amongst those exceptions are John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), Neil Wigglesworth, *The Story of Sport in England*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), Harvey, *The Beginnings*.

[14] See the lists of teams for Yorkshire and Lancashire in Adrian Harvey, *Football: The First Hundred Years* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2007), 60, table 3.1.

[15] Peter Swain, Cultural Continuity and Football in Nineteenth-century Lancashire, *Sport in History*, 28, no. 4 (2008, 566–82; Peter Swain and Adrian Harvey, On Bosworth Field or the Playing Fields of Eton and Rugby? Who Really Invented Modern Football?, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, No. 10 (2012), 1425–45; Adrian Harvey, The Emergence of Football in Nineteenth Century England: The Historiographic Debate, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 30. No.18 (2013), 2154-2163; Peter Swain, The Origins of Football Debate: The 'Grander Design and the Involvement of the Lower Classes', 1818–1840, *Sport in History*, No.4, (2014), 519-43; Peter Swain The Origins of Football Debate: The Evidence Mounts, 1841–1851, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.32. No.2, (2015), 299-317; Peter Swain, The Origins of Football Debate: The Continuing Demise of the Dominant Paradigm, 1852–1856, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.31, No.17, (2014), 2212-2229; Peter Swain, The Origins of Football Debate: Football

and Cultural Continuity, 1857–1859, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol.32, No. 17, (2015), 631-649; Peter Swain and Robert Lewis, Manchester and the Emergence of an Association Football Culture, 1840-1880: An Alternative Viewpoint, *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* Vol. 31, No.9, 2015, 1160-1180; Peter Swain, Early Football and the Emergence of Modern Soccer: A reply to Tony Collins, *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* Vol. 33, No. 3, 2016.

[16] Adrian Harvey, *Football: The First Hundred Years*, 59-61.

[17] Dave Russell, 'Sporadic and Curious: The Emergence of Rugby and Football Zones in Lancashire, 1860-1914', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 5, 2, (1988), 185-205.

[18] The Orthodox camp in the 'Origins' debate is usually referenced with the works of Montagu Shearman, *Athletics and Football* (London: Longman Green, 1889); Charles W. Alcock, Association Football, *English Illustrated Magazine* (8) (1890/1): 282–8; Alfred Gibson and William Pickford, *Association Football and the Men who Made It,* 4 vols (London: The Caxton Publishing Company, 1906); Francis P. Magoun, Football in Medieval England, *American Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (1929): 33–45; Scottish Popular Football, 1424-1815, *American Historical Review* 37 (1931): A History of Football from the Beginnings to 1871, *Kolner Anglistiche Arbeiten* (31) (1938): 1–144; Geoffrey Green, *The History of the Football Association*, 4 vols. (London: The Naldrett Press, 1953), I, 37–58; Morris Marples, *A History of Football* (London: Secker & Warberg, 1954), 95–106; Percy M. Young, *A History of British Football*, (London: Stanley Paul, 1968), 59–88, Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1979) whose work drew upon Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (New York and Oxford: Pantheon Books, 1978) and Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process,* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1986).

Its recent most foremost exponents, who continue to emphasise the influence of public schools, have been Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, The Problem with Revisionism: how new data on the origins of modern football have led to hasty conclusions, *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* Vol.14, No.4, (2013), 429-445; Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, *Association Football: A study in figurational sociology,* (Oxon: Routledge, 2015); Graham Curry, The Origins of Football Debate: Comments on Adrian Harvey's Historiography, *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* Vol.31, No.17, (2014), 2158-2163. Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, The Power Game: Continued Reflections on the Early Development of Modern Football, *The International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2016.*

The Revisionist side include Adrian Harvey, *Football: The First Hundred Years* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2007); John Goulstone*, Football's Secret History* (Upminster: 3-2 Books, 2001); John Goulstone, A Selection of Victorian Football Notices 1838-1845, *Sport Quarterly Magazine* 18 (1981); Surrey F.C. – London's First Football Club?, *Sport Quarterly Magazine,* 20, (1982): 11–12; The Working Class Origins of Modern Football, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17, no. 1 (2000): 135–43; Adrian Harvey, Football's Missing Link: The Real Story of the Evolution of Modern Football, in *Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender*, ed. J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999); An Epoch in the Annals of National Sport: Football in Sheffield and the Creation of Modern Soccer and Rugby, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 4 (2001): 53–87; The Curate's Egg Put Back Together: Comments on Eric Dunning's Response to an Epoch in the Annals of National Sport, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 19, no. 4 (2002): 191–9. Curate's Egg Pursued by Red Herrings: A Reply to Eric Dunning and Graham Curry, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 21, no. 1 (2004): 127–31; Adrian Harvey, The Emergence of Football in Nineteenth Century England: The Historiographic Debate, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 30. No.18, (2013), 2154-2163; Adrian Harvey, The Public Schools and Organized Football in Britain: Fresh Perspectives on Old Paradigms, *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* Vol.33. No. 2. (2016), 272-288; Gavin Kitching, "Old" Football and the "New" Codes: Some Thoughts on the Origins of "Football" Debate and Suggestions for Further Research, *The International Journal of the History of Sport 28*, Vol. 28, No. 13. (2011), 1733–49; Peter Swain, see note 15.

[19] Tony Collins, Early Football and the Emergence of Modern Soccer, c. 1840-1880, *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* 32, no. 9 (2015), 12.

[20] Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split,* (London: Cass, 1998), 30-31.

[21] *Athletic News,* 10 December, 1879.

[22] A.M. Crook, *County Football: Lancashire* in Rev. Frank Marshall (Ed), *Football: The Rugby Union Game,* Forgotten Books Reprint of (Cassell &Co: London, Paris and Melbourne, 1892), 373-408.

[23] Peter Swain, 'Modern Football in Formation: A Case Study of South and East Lancashire, 1830-1885' (PhD. diss., School of Sport, Leisure and Tourism, University of Bolton, 2009).

[24] Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 44-50.

[25] Wray Vamplew (2015): Sport, industry and industrial sport in Britain before 1914: review and revision, *Sport in Society*, *Sport in Society,* Vol.19. No. 3, (2106), 340-355.

[26] Avoiding the fallacy of the mechanistic cause – see David Hackett Fischer, *Historians Fallacies* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 178-9.

[27] Wray Vamplew in Sport, 3, (footnote25) warns against the conventional view that modern sport originated in the nineteenth century as a direct consequence of industrialization suggesting there is a danger the 'pendulum has swung too far' and that 'the role of industrialization is too often taken as a chronological correlation without the causal relationship being fully specified'.

[28] Neil Tranter, *Sport, economy and society in Britain, 1750-1914,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 31.

[29] For an account of the latter see Peter Swain, 'Modern Football'.

[30] W.B. Croxford, *Rugby Union in Lancashire and Cheshire,* (Liverpool: Littlebury Bros, 1950), 12. See also copy of letter received from Richard Sykes contained in 125 MFC, Len Balaam, (published by Manchester Ruby Club, 1985), 4-5. Photocopy kindly supplied by Manchester Rugby Football Club.

[31] Croxford, *Rugby,* 12.

[32] See www.puntabout.co.uk for the history of Lindon's Rugby footballs.

[33] Letter from Richard Sykes to Roger Walker dated February 14, 1907 printed in 125 MFC, 5.

[34] Croxford, *Rugby, 12.*

[35] J.R.A. Daglish, *Red, Black and Blue: The First 125 Years of Liverpool Football Club*, (Privately published, 1983), 2.

[36] Ibid

[37] It was certainly in front of Manchester, despite Dunning and Sheard's claim in '*Barbarians'*, 134, that 'Manchester, the oldest club in Lancashire was formed in 1860' with 'Liverpool RFC' being formed 'shortly afterwards'.

[38] *Liverpool Daily Post,* Friday 24 November, 1857.

[39] *Liverpool Daily Post,* Wednesday, 2 December, 1857.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Tom Knowles, *The History of the Cheshire Rugby Football Union*, 1876-1976, (Centenary Committee; Cheshire, 1978), 6.

[42] *Liverpool Mercury,* 5 October, 1857.

[43] *Liverpool Mercury,* 28 December 1858.

[44] *Liverpool Mercury,* 8 August 1859.

[45] *Liverpool Daily Post,* Friday 13 November, 1857.

[46] *Liverpool Daily Post,* Saturday, 28 November, 1857.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Sidney Lee. (ed), *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900,* Volume 28, (New York: MacMillan, 1891), 130-131 by Edmund Venables.

[49] Harvey, *Football,* 41-43.

[50] Daglish, *Red*, 3.

[51] 1861 Census for Lancashire, Linacre 3b, Reference R.G. 9/2714.

[52] Daglish, *Red*, 3.

[53] Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 14.

[54] See Stephen Hardy, (1981), 'The City and the Rise of American Sport', *Exercise and Sports Sciences Review* 9: 193-198.

[55] Ibid, 193.

[56] Collins, *Sport,* 11-13.

[57] Wray Vamplew, 'Theories and Typologies: A Historical Exploration of the Sports Club in Britain, *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* Vol.30 No. 14, (2013), 1569-1585.

[58] Ibid, 1575-1579.

[59] The use of the concepts of economic, cultural and social capital follows the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu who argued that 'capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations (connections), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title or nobility.' -See Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in A.H. Halsey, H .Lauder, P. Brown and A.S. Wells, (Eds.), *Education, Culture, Society, Economy*¸ (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 47.

[60] Bailey*, Popular*, 29.

[61] See Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians,* 65-144; W.F. Mandle, 'Games people played: cricket and football in England and Victoria in the nineteenth century', *Historical Studies,* 15, (1973), 511-535; James Walvin, *The*

Peoples Game: The Social History of British Football, (London: Allen Lane, 1975), 31-49; Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society,* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1980), 24; J.A. Mangan, 'Grammar Schools and the games ethic in Victorian and Edwardian eras', *Albion,* 15, (1983), 313-335

[62] Daglish, *Red,* 3-4.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Daglish, *Red,* 3-9.

[65] Crook, *County Football*. 373.

[66] Daglish, *Red,* 6.

[67] 1861 Census for Cheshire, Cheadle Bulkeley, Stockport Second, District 27, Reference R.G. 9/2568.

[68] Ibid.

[69] John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History, 1558-1939,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), Chapter 7, 125-140.

[70] 125 MFC, letter form Sykes, 5.

[71] Croxford, *Rugby,* 66.

[72] Ibid, 5.

[73] Ballaam, 125 MFC, 5.

[74] Ibid, 6.

[75] Crook, *County Football*, 399.

[76] Ballaam, 125 MFC, 6.

[77] Quoted in Hardy, The City, 194, from B.G. Rader, (1977), The Quest for subcommunities and the rise of American sports, *American Quarterly,* 29, 355-356.

[78] Many trades in Liverpool were amongst the last in the country to gain the Saturday half-holiday, in particular the dockworkers who did not win it until April, 1890 – see Mason, *Association*, 77.

[79] Swain and Lewis, 'Manchester and the Emergence', 1173.

[80] Huizinga, *Homo Ludens,* ,196..

[81] Stephen Edgell, *Veblen in Perspective: His Life and Thought,* (New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2001), 106.

[82] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 161.

[83] Ibid, 43-62.

[84] See Letter

[85] E.M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations, Fifth Edition (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003), 5, 12, 21–24, 26–29, 303–4; John Bale 'The Development of Soccer as a Participant and Spectator Sport; Geographical Aspects' (London: Sports Council/Social Science Research Council, 1979), 1.

[86] M. Barak, *A Century of Rugby at Sale,* (Sale: Sale RFC, 1963).

[87] Sale Football Club Report, 1865-1866. I am indebted to Neil Thallon from Sale Rugby Club for a photocopy of the original report of the club.

[88] 1861 Census Cheshire, Sale, District 17, RG.9/2591; 1871 Census, Cheshire, Sale District, 18, RG.10/3685.

[89] Lancashire Cricket Club archive, player number 85 by Don Ambrose, 2004.

[90] 1881 Census, Cheshire, Bowden, District 15, RG. 11/3505.

[91] Sale Football Club Report, 1865-1866.

[92] 1861 Census, Isle of Man, Conchan, District 11, RG. 9/4419.

[93] 1871 Census, Cheshire, Sale, District 17, RG. 10/3684.

[94] 1861 Census, Cheshire, Ashton upon Mersey, District 7, RG. 9/2590

[95] 1861 Census, Cheshire, Sale, District 18, RG. 9/2531.

[96] 1861 Census, Cheshire, Sale, District 17, RG. 9/2531.

[97] Sale Football Club Report, 1865-1866.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Tom Knowles, *The History of the Cheshire Rugby Football Union*, 1876-1976, (Centenary Committee; Cheshire, 1978), 3-4.

[100] Eric Midwinter, 'Hornby, Albert Neilson (1847–1925)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, first published 2004

[101] Lancashire County Cricket Club Cricket Archive, Lancashire Player number 30 – Hornby, Albert Neilson by Don Ambrose.

[102] *Lancashire Evening Post,* Thursday, 17 December, 1925.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Derek Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 287.

[105] See *Preston Chronicle,* Saturday, 28 August, 1841, quoting the *Blackburn Standard* with regard football playing in Brookhouse Mills from the 1840s onwards. See also Swain, 'The Evidence', 3.

[106] Ballaam, 125 MFC, 6.

[107] Lancashire County Cricket Club Cricket Archive, Lancashire Player number 30 – Hornby, Albert Neilson by Don Ambrose. The 'potted biography' is also from Midwinter, 'Hornby'; and Preston Grasshoppers Rugby Football Club's History – see www.pgrfc.co.uk/the-club/history/

[108] *Lancashire Evening Post,* Thursday, 17 December, 1925.

[109] For an account of 'prowess' see Veblen, *The Theory,* Chapter X, 151-168.

[110] Patrick Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The culture of the factory in later Victorian England*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1982), 3. First published by The Harvester Press, 1982.

[111] Peter Swain, *Modern Football in Formation: A Case Study of South and East Lancashire: 1830-1885.* Unpublished PhD., University of Bolton, 2009.

[112] See Note 18.

[113] See Note 15 for the list of Swain's articles in which they are outlined.

[114] For 'kickabouts' see Curry and Dunning, *Association Football,* 171-173. For 'informal leisure practice or folk custom' see Collins 'Early Football' and a critique of Collins' position in Swain' Early Football'.

[115] Kitching – Old Football, 1741.

[116] So, for example, on the 5th of December, 1868, Rochdale played Darlington according to their opponent's rules, with which they were unacquainted. However, it was understood that Darlington would adopt Rugby rules in future, so that a return match may be expected the following season. - *Rochdale Observer,* 5 December, 1868.

[117] Swain, *Modern Football.*

[118] Robert Lewis, The Genesis of Professional Football: Bolton-Blackburn-Darwen, the Centre of Innovation, 1878-85, *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* Vol. 14, No.1, (1997).

[119] Swain, *Modern Football.*